Make a list of people in your community or your occupation who might become political activists if they read HUMAN EVENTS. Give Christmas gifts of HUMAN EVENTS subscriptions. See page 925.

Human Events — YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XIX, No. 48 December 1, 1962 Section 1 — News

GOP: *Chairman points up gains* .....(911)

CUBA: *JFK leaves much unanswered* .....(912)

PRESS: *Administration gag continues* .....(912)

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GOP on the March: The chairman of the Republican National Committeee last week came out of his corner fighting and dealt telling blows to the negative image of the GOP currently propagated by Democrats and their allies among the so-called political analysts.

These pundits seek to show the Republican party as doomed to minority status, decreasing in popular favor and unlikely to retake the Presidency "before the country runs out of Kennedys." Chairman William E. Miller, speaking to a crowded press conference in the Capital, demolished their fabricated image of a party "that has had it" with an abundance of election statistics which stood up despite probing press questions.

In the course of his presentation, Miller also cut down to rather small size the political analyst George Gallup and his famous poll. To support his pre-election forecast, the pollster on November 11 bannered his analysis "Democrats won 55 per cent of Congress vote," with only 45 per cent for the GOP. "This impression is false," declared Miller.

The Chairman set the record straight. He produced the figures to show that the GOP got "48 per cent or more of the nation-wide popular vote for the House, better than 49 per cent of the popular vote for the Senate races and better than 50 per cent in the gubernatorial contests." He found "no mandate for the programs and policies of the New Frontier" in the election outcome.

With an eye to the Big Event in 1964, Miller pointed out that Republican governors are now in charge of states with 178 total electoral votes, whereas prior to the election they controlled states with only 129 votes.

He added that there were seven House races in which—because of redistricting—a GOP incumbent had to run against a Democratic incumbent (see HUMAN EVENTS, November 17, Page 873). In six of the seven contests, the voters rejected the Democrat and re-elected the Republican. "Don't try to tell me the New Frontier is on the march with a score like that!" remarked Miller.

Few commentators have noted the upsurge in Republican voting since the last off-year elections in 1958. The GOP National Committee charts show a Republican gain in the popular vote between 1958 and 1962 of 19 per cent—with the Democratic vote climbing a tiny four-tenths of one per cent. Actually, 3,900,000 votes were added to the Republican total between those years; the Democrats' rose only 100,000.

But why wasn't the upsurge in Republican voting translated into more congressional seats? For one reason, some of this GOP bulge came in races which Republicans won by larger margins than was necessary; in half the districts which went GOP, its candidate received more than 60 per cent of the vote. Secondly, the Republicans had the bad luck to lose nearly all the close ones. They missed "by a whisker" in each of 17 contests.

Third, they got 25 to 40 per cent of the total vote in a number of districts—38 to be exact—where they entered no candidates at all in 1958. The GOP hopes to build up the vote in these districts in 1964 and Miller has promised Republican candidates in the other 57 districts which this year went uncontested.

Regionally, the statistics on House races show the extent of GOP gains between 1958 and 1962. In the East, Republicans picked up 900,000—the Democrats only 100,000; in the Midwest, an 800,000-vote gain for the GOP against a loss of 400,000 for the Democrats; in the West, again a gain of 800,000 for the Republicans, while the Democrats were losing 200,000; in the eleven states of the South, a GOP rise of 1,400,000, outstripping a Democratic gain of 600,000.

The Miller presentation came during a recess in a meeting of top GOP leaders from various parts of the country in Washington. One of the subjects under discussion, it was revealed, was preparation for the 1963 elections—in which the GOP will seek to garner many mayoralty offices and various other local and county posts in a number of states.

These elections provide the seed-corn for the harvest in the ensuing congressional and presidential election years. It is recalled that some big GOP wins in local elections in 1961 foreshadowed —and strengthened—the big sweeps of the Republican party in Ohio and Pennsylvania, as well as elsewhere, in 1962. Thus, the fact that this year the Republicans won at least 160 new seats in state legislatures to add to their 300-seat gain in 1960 could bode well for the party in the future.

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Cuba: According to a number of reports in the Capital, the President's press conference on Cuba last week was a slick bit of evasion.

Newsmen came armed with pertinent questions regarding solidly-based reports that Soviet missiles have been tucked away in caves, that mobile missiles remain on Russian ships, and the like. Few of the questions, however, were asked—let alone answered—as a result of JFK's adroit handling of his conference.

The President, it is noted, took up approximately one-fourth of his 30-minute press session with an official statement on Cuba, thus leaving less time for questions. In addition, he deliberately overlooked certain reporters obviously eager to probe unexplained Administration actions during this whole Cuban affair.

Even so, the President's performance showed how far he had retreated from his first bold stand over a month ago. Consider what he said and did:

(1) He lifted the naval quarantine (blockade) of Cuba on the *promise* that Khrushchev would withdraw Soviet bombers. This is the same Khrushchev he said lied to him about placing offensive missiles in Cuba in the first place.

(2) In addition, President Kennedy indicated in his opening statement he believed the Soviet government when it "stated that all nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from Cuba." Yet this directly conflicts with a front-page story by crack New York *Herald Tribune* reporter Marguerite Higgins. On the morning of Kennedy's press conference, she wrote it was indisputable that "the Russians have been hiding tactical nuclear weapons inside Cuba . . . "

(3) Despite his statement that there "should" (not "must") be on-site inspection, Kennedy didn't demand it. Indeed, his removal of the quarantine means no naval verification that Soviet ships are crating back the bombers.

(4) The President remarked we would not have to invade Cuba if offensive missiles were removed. He said that, though we would not abandon the "political and economic" efforts to halt subversion from Cuba, "*these policies are very different from any intent to launch a military invasion of the island.*"

Yet, ask the experts, how can the President successfully wage "economic" warfare against Castro when he has lifted the quarantine and reportedly is prepared to have the US government supply nearly $62 million worth of food and medicine to Castro in exchange for Cuban prisoners?

Press Gag: The Nation's Capital remains worried by the shroud of secrecy which continues to envelop the activities of the Administration, particularly in regard to Cuba.

At the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department, recent directives have wiped out news sources almost to the vanishing point.

While the Administration and its apologists claim restrictions are due to the Cuban crisis, others are inclined to agree with UPI's Merriman Smith—dean of the White House press corps—when he says, "The President has been listening to a few advisers who have the scornful idea that it is proper that the press speak only when spoken to."

If the secrecy is due to the crisis, remark many, why did the President allow the Moscow correspondent for the official Soviet news agency, Tass, to accompany him backstage after a performance of the Bolshoi ballet, but deny this privilege to a representative of the American press? Why, too, haven't press correspondents been allowed on US ships making a distant "inspection" of Soviet ships allegedly carrying Soviet missiles out of Cuba? The Administration can hardly say that "secrecy" is necessary to carry out inspection.

As the crisis mounts against the Administration clampdown, Arthur Krock, highly regarded Washington columnist for the New York *Times*, offers an interesting footnote to the history of press censorship in the US. In 1945, says Krock, *Newsweek* correspondent Edward Weintal exclusively got the news that Roosevelt at Yalta had "granted the USSR three memberships in the UN—two phony—with the restriction he must get competent government authority for its publication. The State Department official in charge of Yalta affairs at the time censored this news on the ground that the publication would be 'unpatriotic . . . harmful to the national interest.' That official was Alger Hiss."

The CIA: In his press conference last week, the President obviously attempted to persuade the nation that Soviet offensive missiles had been removed from Cuba. Since no military or civilian personnel boarded Soviet ships which allegedly carted the missiles back to Russia, his bland assurances could only have been based on intelligence reports, largely those emanating from the Central Intelligence Agency. Which leaves the question, how good is CIA?

Scripps-Howard columnist Henry J. Taylor, down in Miami to cover the Cuban crisis, has filed highly disturbing reports on the super-secret sleuth agency, now directed by John McCone.

In a recent column, Taylor noted that CIA agents in Cuba (most of them Cuban) have been penetrated by Castro counter-agents "on a wholesale scale." Taylor says the Agency some time ago asked several highly reliable Cubans in Miami to supply a list of anti-Castro Cubans for CIA recruitment in Havana, Cienfuegos and Manzanillo. "In utmost secrecy," says Taylor, "these patriots gave the CIA nearly a hundred names." But within 24 hours after this list reached CIA hands in Havana, Taylor states, "all but eight or ten of the listed men and women were arrested by Castro's G2."

Major Pedro L. Diaz, Castro's personal airplane pilot who defected to America, told Taylor, "We are doubtful about supplying any more lists like that."

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Judd: Although he may not know it, Representative Walter Judd (R.-Minn.) is being considered for an appointment by the Kennedy Administration. Judd, who lost his seat because his constituency was severely redistricted, has been one of the most prominent House members on the GOP side of the aisle. Rumors from the White House entourage say the President would like to name Judd to succeed retiring Fowler Hamilton as head of the foreign aid administration or to some other post in international affairs.

If JFK pops the question to the Minnesotan, the chances are Judd will turn it down. As an old political pro, he undoubtedly sees the asp in the bouquet, for he knows he has an excellent chance to beat down Senator Eugene McCarthy's bid for re-election in 1964. The Democratic GHQ would like to retain the McCarthy seat and hopes to assist the incumbent by removing Judd from the field.*

Also, Judd is a dyed-in-the-wool Republican, dedicated to GOP victory in '64. He can understand well how his acceptance of such a post under a Democratic Administration would work against Republicans.

JFK has a hot potato in the foreign aid issue, with public antagonism against "giveaways" mounting sharply. Kennedy would enjoy a distinct advantage politically if he could have such a prominent Republican bear the brunt of the increasing attacks.

The President took out some similar insurance last week by appointing another well-known Republican, Christian Herter, as Special Representative for Trade Negotiations (also an issue which may turn sour before long). Thus, with Judd and Herter, the Democratic Administration would enjoy a very useful pair of shock-absorbers.

Few on Capitol Hill, however, believe Judd will oblige the President.

Trade Act: While former Secretary of State Christian A. Herter has been designated by the President as his Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, insiders say Herter will be mainly a figurehead in his position.

It is reported that the 67-year-old Herter, lamed badly with arthritis, is too ill actually to carry out his assignment as chief negotiator of the broad new trade agreements authorized by the Trade Expansion Act passed this year.

The extensive powers to bargain with foreign countries over US tariffs will instead fall to Herter's assistant, Myer Rashish—also appointed by the President. Rashish, it is recalled, was alleged to have aided Under Secretary of State George W. Ball in preparing a special pre-inaugural task force report which requested Western nations to pursue a vigorous expansion of trade with Soviet-dominated countries (see HUMAN EVENTS, February 24, page 129).

Rashish, a former deputy assistant to the President on trade policy, is considered a protege of Ball, having served under him when Ball held the post of Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

Labor: A disturbing reminder that the Administration will wield arbitrary power to please its union friends came last week when the Pentagon threatened to shift defense contracts from California's Lockheed Aircraft Corporation to some other company unless Lockheed buckles under to the recommendations on compulsory unionism of a special Presidential board.

Lockheed sharply criticized this board since it was not set up according to procedures laid down by Congress and since its chairman, George W. Taylor, was on record as favoring compulsory unionism (see HUMAN EVENTS, *September* 22).

In a public statement, the Pentagon strongly intimated it would stop dealing with Lockheed unless the company agreed to hold an election among its employes; in this election the procedures would be such that a small minority of workers could actually compel the majority to join the International Association of Machinists. Less than 30 per cent of Lockheed's employes in California now belong to the IAM.

While the Pentagon's excuse for its course is that it must meet defense schedules and, hence, can't afford a strike (now slated by the IAM), observers recall that the Pentagon operated differently in a similar circumstance under Eisenhower.

When the IAM threatened to pull a strike against Lockheed in 1960, the Pentagon, according to a Lockheed spokesman, did not pressure the company. Even when the Machinists went out on strike, the Pentagon only demanded that Lockheed live up to its defense contracts, which the company did. The strike, in fact, proved such a fizzle that 80 per cent of Lockheed's labor force was working while it was going on.

• Most observers, actually, think the Machinists would lose even if Lockheed permitted a vote under the rigged procedures recommended by the Presidential board. It is noted that three other aerospace companies—North American, General Dynamic and Ryan—each conducted a vote according to the board's recommendations and that compulsory unionism was decisively defeated by workers in all three companies.

Rules: One of the first battles of the 88th Congress—which convenes January 9—is expected to come when liberals attempt to prevent the House Rules Committee from reverting to its original composition of 12 members.

THE REV. ROBERT M. BENGSTON, Pastor, Yermo Bible Church, Yermo, California: "HUMAN EVENTS is welcome reading after being subjected to so much propaganda and biased news reports in the controlled press."

* Judd must recall how, in 1951, Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey persuaded President Truman to give a lifetime federal judgeship to Republican Governor Luther Youngdahl of Minnesota. This eliminated Youngdahl's running against Humphrey in 1954.

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In January, 1961, in an attempt to make Rules more receptive to New Frontier proposals, Administration supporters in the House "packed" the membership, increasing it to 15. Through the foresight of committee chairman Howard W. Smith (D.-Va.), an opponent of expansion, the packing resolution was written so that it applied only to the 87th Congress. Thus the liberals will have to fight again to keep the membership at 15 in the 88th.

One of the most important committees, Rules—under all but very unusual circumstances—decides what major legislation gets to the House floor. Before the three-man increase, the members were evenly split, with six liberal Democrats on one side and a conservative coalition of four Republicans and two Southern Democrats—including chairman Smith—on the other. By adding two liberal Democrats and one conservative Republican the group was given an eight-to-seven pro-New Frontier majority.

This change was forced on the House only after a bitter fight in which then Speaker Sam Rayburn had to use all his influence to gain an Administration victory. At that, the vote was very close—217 to 212. This year, after a GOP gain of two seats and a Democratic loss of four and with a less effective man in the Speaker's chair, the Administration may not fare so well, especially if all conservatives write their Representatives, urging them to vote against packing Rules.

COPE: While Capitol Hill recognizes that labor's Committee on Political Education (COPE)—the political action shock troops of the labor bosses—played a big role and spent many of their union members' dollars in behalf of the Democrats, pros on the Hill have a feeling that COPE suffered somewhat of a disappointment in the election outcome.

This is confirmed by *The Weekly Labor Forecast and Review* (November 17), published in Columbus, Ohio, a big industrial state where its editors have an excellent vantage point for observing labor's political action. *The Review* expresses "surprise" at the "poor showing" by COPE in the elections.

"In the five major industrial states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois," says *The Review*, "a large number of COPE-endorsed candidates were defeated. These were the five industrial states where COPE claimed to be the most effective. Many of the major state office candidates in these five states from governor down, who were opposed by COPE, overcame COPE opposition and were elected."

What happened? *The Review* says: "Many trade unions, the original AFL unions, refused to support COPE-endorsed candidates. COPE today is merely a political affiliate of the Democratic party. Many labor union members and second and third echelon labor union leaders refused to be dragooned into campaigning for and supporting COPE politically endorsed candidates just to satisfy a Washington, D. C., crowd of top labor union politicians."

Capitol Camera: It is believed that James Hagerty, Vice President of the American Broadcasting Company in charge of news, following the violent public reaction against his allowing Alger Hiss to appear on an ABC TV show, is in no enviable position as to tenure of his job. The New York *Times* (November 18) reports rumors of "an impending shake-up in the ABC news operations." Two prominent companies sponsoring ABC programs have sought to cancel their contracts.

• *Administration "trust-busting" hoopla suffered a setback when young GOP conservative Peter Dominick defeated incumbent Democratic Senator John A. Carroll in Colorado. Carroll was one of Senator Estes Kefauver's most valued helpers in the Tennessee Democrat's clamorous probes of alleged exposures of "conspiracy in restraint of trade" practices by big business corporations.*

• California Republicans are hopping mad at the way Earl Warren used his lofty position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to foster the reelection hopes of incumbent Democratic Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown during the campaign. Warren, former GOP governor of the Golden State, was photographed with Brown and praised certain aspects of his administration. His son, Earl Warren, Jr., actively campaigned for Brown in his race against Richard Nixon.

• *Union leaders recently announced that the AFL-CIO has selected nearly* 400 *specific business establishments in the Los Angeles area as targets for organization in a concentrated member-enlisting drive to start January* 2.

• Dr. Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb, is scheduled to receive the Atomic Energy Commission's 1962 Enrico Fermi award of $50,000 this year. Politicos wonder whether this indicates any shift by the Administration toward a "harder" line in our atomic weapons policy. Last year the prize went to Dr. Hans Bethe, who protested development of the H-bomb and continues to oppose nuclear tests by the United States.

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks $1. Yearly rate $12.50; 6 months $6.50; 3 months $3.50. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

Bound Volume indexed: First six months, 1962, $15. Second six months, 1961 $15. First six months, 1961, $15. 1960 and 1956 Bound Volumes, $20. Dateline Washington: The Best of HUMAN EVENTS, 1955–1961, $15.

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Human Events readers constitute a great fraternity. Many a person riding a plane has opened up his copy of *Human Events* intending to read it. The stranger sitting beside him exclaimed: "You read *Human Events*?" A beautiful friendship has been started.

HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

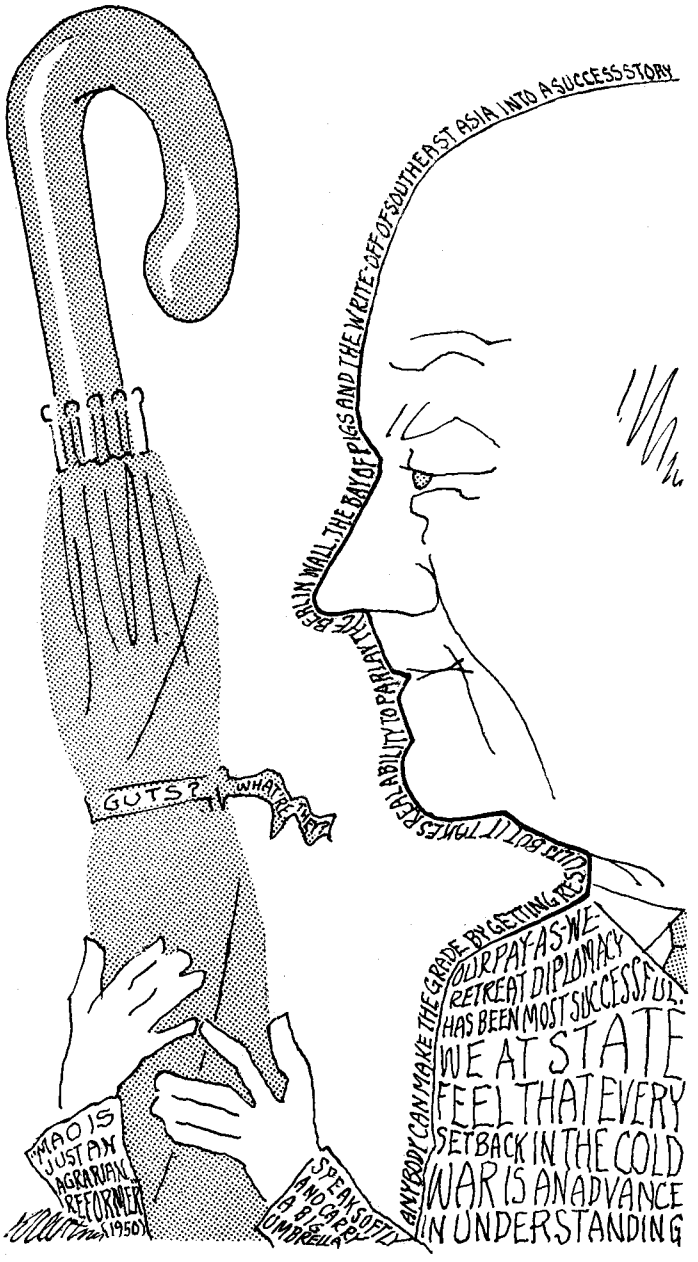
When all government shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will become venal and oppressive. I wish to see maintained that wholesome distribution of powers established by the Constitution for the limitation of both, and never see all offices transferred to Washington.
—THOMAS JEFFERSON

Volume XIX, No. 48—Section II

December 1, 1962

Profiles in Newfrontery

No. 2


BERLIN WALL, THE BAY OF PIGS AND THE WRITE-OFF OF SOUTHEAST ASIA INTO A SUCCESS STORY
GUTS?
WHAT'S THAT?
REAL ABILITY TO PARLAY A LITTLE BIT OF TALES RESOLVE
MAO IS JUST AN AGRARIAN REFORMER (1950)
SPEAK SOFTLY AND CARRY A BIG UMBRELLA
ANYBODY CAN MAKE THE GRADE BY GETTING RESULTS
OUR PAY-AS-WE-RETREAT DIPLOMACY HAS BEEN MOST SUCCESSFUL
WE AT STATE FEEL THAT EVERY SETBACK IN THE COLD WAR IS AN ADVANCE IN UNDERSTANDING

Medicare Is Not the Answer

From *Barron's*

Hospital costs, Wilbur J. Cohen, assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, emphasized in New York last week, have risen 8½ per cent in 1961 and have doubled within the last 10 years. Should the trend continue, by 1972, he said, hospital costs would average $70 a day. In a magnificent *non sequitur,* he then declared that "this is the situation this Administration tried to meet through its proposed program for health insurance for the aged through social security."

Actually, it is clear that hospital charges have risen mainly because the supply of accommodations and services consistently has fallen short of demand, stimulated by the spread of private hospital insurance. Adding to this excessive demand through medicare merely would accelerate the rise in costs of hospitalization; far from meeting the situation which Mr. Cohen describes, the Administration proposals, if enacted, would make it worse. Moreover, the current supply of beds available for long-term care in nursing homes is put at less than one-third the need. Again, medicare would add to the demand. In short, whatever financing arrangements may be provided for the care of the aged, physical facilities are not available to fulfill the promises implied in the Administration program.

It's Your Money

From the Indianapolis *News*

The latest figures show that since Kennedy took office, the New Frontier has been increasing the Federal payroll at the rate of 4.2 employes every two minutes of every eight-hour, five-day week. Remarked Senator Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.): "Our Cuban policy gives suspicion that the two-tenths employes may have been assigned to the Cuban desk of the State Department."

New Frontier Slip Shows

From the Salem [Mass.] *Evening News*

IPSWICH, Sept. 26—Almost simultaneous with the announcement yesterday that this town had been included in the list of distressed unemployment areas by a Federal survey, the state announced it was closing the local unemployment office due to scarcity of unemployed. In fact, state officials point out there are less than 80 claimants for unemployment compensation, the lowest number in years.

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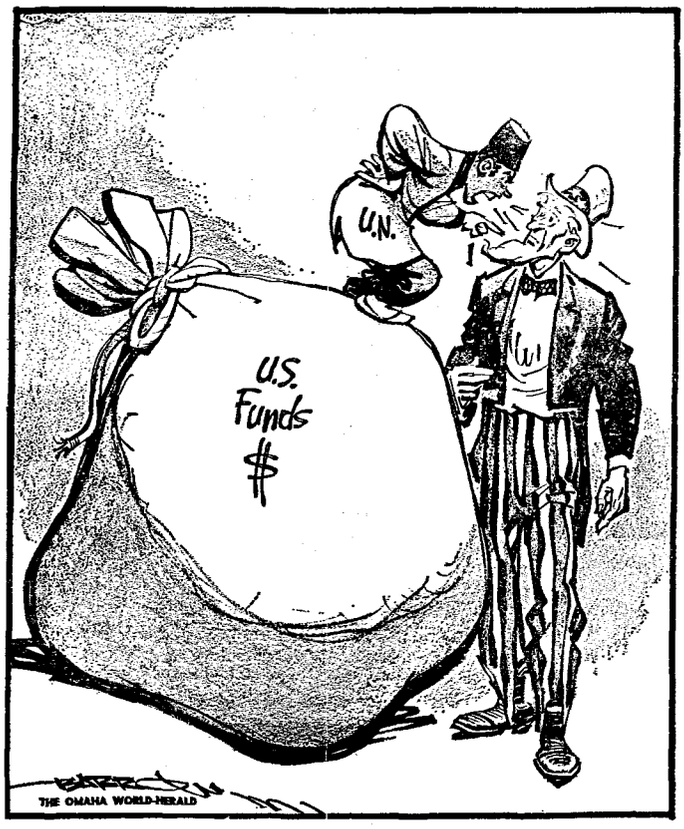

'Who's Bigger, You or Me?"

Simple Arithmetic

By Senator Hiram L. Fong (R.-Hawaii)

If, instead of paying the Administration-proposed maximum health insurance tax of $27.50 a year, a worker from age 20 to age 65 deposited $27.50 each year for 45 years at 4¾ per cent interest compounded quarterly, he would wind up with a nice nest egg of $4,093.78.

If he continued to invest the $4,093.78 at 4¾ per cent, he could pay for an excellent medical care insurance policy not only for himself, but his family, too, with the $194 in interest on his savings each year. He could buy far better coverage than the Administration plan provided for those aged 65.

Most startling of all, after he dies, his nest egg of $4,093.78 would go to his family. Should he die before age 65, say at age 60, his family would inherit his savings of $3,126.16. Under the Administration plan he builds no nest egg. Actually, the Administration will have consumed his goose.

The Hidden Extravagance

From the *Wall Street Journal*

For years the Defense Department has been ordering soda crackers produced according to exacting military specifications. But suddenly the department discovered that the GI crackers really weren't very different from the kind that ordinary civilians eat. So when the military men put in their last order they asked for the ordinary kind—and saved $93,000.

It's a small thing, really. But it makes us wonder anew how many other little $93,000 bits of waste there are hidden amid the maze of our $93-billion budget.

US Wheat to Red Poland

From the Nashville *Banner*

It will be recalled that during the last session of Congress there was a spirited debate on the proposition of giving aid to Communist nations. And at one time this disagreement placed the entire foreign assistance measure in jeopardy.

Finally, the matter was resolved by leaving such questionable aid to the discretion of the President.

Congress was out of town for only five days when the Administration announced a donation of $800,000 worth of wheat to Red Poland.

At the time, the Communist boss of Poland, Wladislaw Gomulka, was in East Germany visiting with the "territory's" Red chief, Walter Ulbricht.

During the course of their talks, the two Communists denounced West Germany as a "new imperialist" and "revenge-thirsty." Too, they endorsed the Soviet idea of making West Berlin an "open city"—completely demilitarized and neutral. In addition, East Germany was to be recognized by all of the world's leading powers.

So it goes. The Polish leader, as could be expected, hewed to the Soviet line. The question which naturally arises is: How does it profit us to ship wheat—or anything else—to a member of the Soviet bloc? "Diplomacy" of this sort defies all understanding.

Child Labor Foolishness

By Representative O. C. Fisher (D.-Texas)

A bill passed the Senate, written by Arthur Goldberg, was approved by the House Labor Committee and the packed Rules Committee, and debated in the House which would have prohibited any child under the age of 18 to do farm work without being in the company of the child's family. The age was cut to 16, but it would still have been against the law for a 12-year-old boy to be hired by his neighbor to come over and gather up the eggs, milk a cow or shell some corn! This monstrosity was blocked in the House.

Inevitable Response

From the Nashville *Banner*

WASHINGTON—At a meeting here of 850 local officials to discuss the emergency public works program, this question was put to Area Redevelopment Administrator William L. Batt, Jr.:

"Will this program really be accelerated, or can we expect red tape and delays as in the past?"

Batt, after careful thought, replied:

"The answer is yes."

ERRATUM: In its October 27 issue, *Human Events* incorrectly stated Kentucky's Lieutenant Governor Wilson Wyatt claimed that Senator Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.) was a founder of Americans for Democratic Action. This information was based on an inaccurate news report of Wyatt's speech appearing in the University of Kentucky's student newspaper, the *Kentucky Kernel.* A replay of Wyatt's speech reveals the reporter for the *Kernel* thought Wyatt had said "Byrd the Senator" when he actually said "a third of the senators." The error was corrected in the October 18 issue of the *Kentucky Kernel.*

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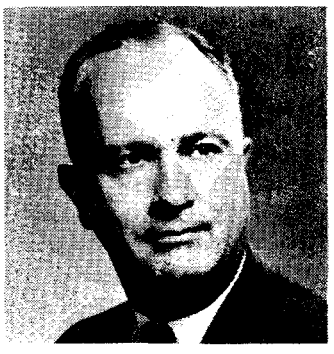
Dr. Max Rafferty, conservative educator and author, recently stunned the Nation by handsomely winning the position of state superintendent of public instruction in California. Arrayed against Dr. Rafferty were the amassed forces of the Democratic party, the California Democratic Council, the various teachers' organizations ranging from the California Teachers Association to the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Teachers, plus a vocal segment of the California press. In this column from the San Francisco *Examiner*—published over two weeks before the election—columnist Dick Nolan describes what Dr. Rafferty faced—and how he won.

California Success Story

By DICK NOLAN
From the San Francisco *Examiner*

Without a doubt the most astonishing phenomenon of the California campaign has been the stubborn refusal of Dr. Max Rafferty to lie down and stay dead.

Doctor Rafferty is campaigning—crusading might be a more appropriate word—for the office of state superintendent of public instruction.



RAFFERTY

He has been doing this without the leave of the most powerful lobby in the state, the lobby of the organized educationists.

In fact, the organized educationists have been opposing him with a holy unanimity which is in itself something of a phenomenon.

They have been fighting him with everything from old bundles of visual aids to the solemn pronouncement of ritual curses, invoking the ghost of John Dewey.

Yet Max Rafferty stays very much on his feet, patiently hammering away at his theme. Which is, to borrow from the simple motto of James Kerchanski's now famous 3-R Schools, "Learning Can Be Learned."

I find Max Rafferty's campaign somewhat appealing for a number of reasons, not the least of which is a growing irritation with the high-powered tactics of the organized educationists.

From any number of personal experiences, I can testify that these people have managed to create an atmosphere of terror that pervades our entire public school system like a stench.

In a profession which, on occasions, prattles glibly of the joys of educational freedom, there exists instead the precise opposite.

Some of this may be due to the natural diffidence —timidity, if you will—of the gentle folk who are attracted to the quiet life of the teacher.

More of it, in my opinion, is brought about by a hard core of organizers who have molded these pliant teachers into an orthodoxy more subservient than any you will find in the most ruthlessly dominated waterfront union.

When I spoke of terror in the school system, I was not merely using the word for effect.

In the course of conducting a newspaper column for many years, I have frequently had letters addressed to me from teachers complaining of various ills and evils in their schools and in their profession.

Without a single exception, these teachers begged to be kept anonymous. They hinted vaguely of the reprisals that they might expect if they became known as "trouble-makers"—or heretics.

On occasions I have followed through with their timid exhortation (let's you and him fight, is the way Popeye puts it) and on every single occasion the organized orthodoxy has swung into action while my scared correspondents went to earth.

This, for my money, is terror. I worry about it.

The other day I had a visit from some of Max Rafferty's people, and I asked the obvious question of any political interview: "Where is Rafferty getting his campaign money?"

The rueful reply was that there was damn little of it coming from anywhere.

But the chief source, I was told, is in the small, individual contributions of Parents for Rafferty and Teachers for Rafferty.

It was startling to hear that there were Teachers for Rafferty. Rebellion in the ranks, of course, is unheard of. But this was more characteristic, so far as I could tell: the educational underground, doing what it can, anonymously for the most part, to protest against The Organization.

The Rafferty campaign, however, might well be expected to garner support from worried parents. This seems to be the factor which has been keeping Max Rafferty alive and swinging.

The Rafferty campaign has succeeded in drawing clear lines between those who are, on the one hand, satisfied with the way the school system has been developing, and those who feel it has gone astray in a jungle of jargon, of phony gadgetry, amateur psychiatry and organized time-wasting.

And so this battle goes forward to decision. From all the reports it is another close one.

Education generally has passed so completely out of the control of parents—except those fortunate enough to be able to afford to choose a private school that suits them for the education of their young—that it is safe to say that none of the subtleties of this campaign are grasped by the voters.

It will be resolved on the one broad issue that everyone can grasp. The votes for Rafferty will be protest votes, cast by parents who wish to register a rebuke to the school system as it has developed. McGuffey's Reader vs. fingerpainting and sandbox and group integration.

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Section Three
December 1, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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Management Needs A Strike Plan

How Yale and Towne Stayed Open—and Won!

By A. N. WECKSLER

In an era of advanced technology, management still has to be prepared to strip to the waist and slug it out in one of the most brutal of wars—STRIKE.

The plans of battle have to be finely drawn, strength carefully assessed, logistics prepared and allies properly informed and cultivated—for to fail can mean complete failure, even as there is no glory in defeat.

Strikes are not remote chance. Last year—one of the most peaceful in the postwar period—there were still 3,367 strikes, involving 1,450,000 workers, with a loss of 16,300,000 man days. In 1952, there were 5,117 strikes.

A strike can come to any company. As one personnel director of a major US corporation —one of the Nation's largest employers—put it:

"It can become a matter of life and death for your company."

* * * * *

Yale & Towne's Philadelphia plant had a strike plan, followed it and after a stormy five and a half months obtained a complete rewrite of their contract and a resumption of normal operations on the same economic terms as offered before the walkout.

One measure of the strike outcome was that, while in most strike situations the management closes the books and "clams up," Yale & Towne opened theirs up for all to see.

Another was the arbitration awards after the strike was settled, when the arbitrators held with the company in most of the instances in which management discharged strikers for illegal strike activity.

The Yale & Towne plan was brought into operation long in advance of the August 13, 1961, strike deadline. The company negotiating team made efforts to present the plant's profit and loss position to the union. The company, a middle-size plant producing material-handling equipment, made it clear that their position wasn't a matter of whimsy—that they just could not live with the wasteful practices that had grown up in the plant.

The negotiations were directed by James V. Marron, manager of industrial relations, and the details of the plan were developed by Don Chance, the safety and plant security officer.

In development of the plan, closing the plant was discussed—but never seriously considered. A major factor which influenced the resolve to stay open was the feeling that the company might lose some of its 800 salaried employes if the doors were shut—also that it would be difficult to start up again once the plant was shut.

One of the essentials of the Yale & Towne plan was strong leadership—personally provided by Paul A. Hartig, a vice president of the company and before and during the strike the general manager of the division. Since that time, his responsibilities have been broadened.

Hartig came to work every day. One day he was "clobbered" in a mass picketing melee. All through the strike there was a spirit of camaraderie among all the salaried workers. There was constant communication on the progress and problems of the strike.

The Yale & Towne plan leads off with a brief discussion of "emergency plant security":

"In attempting to predict the requirements of our Plant Protection Department in times of emergency (*i.e.*, strikes, fires, explosions), it must start from an accepted plan of past experience. Therefore, a well-thought-out and detailed plan of action is the basic principle of this manual. It is a plan which can and will be rapidly expanded, if and when the need arises.

"If there has not been sufficient notice in case of strikes to effect a normal shutdown, it will be necessary to have required management personnel enter the plant safely.

"Union leaders should be encouraged to recognize the importance of cooperation in planning and carrying out emergency shutdowns. It would be futile to gain a contract as a result of strike action, only to find that the plant had been burned down or been seriously damaged mechanically in the meantime.

"In all emergencies the Plant Protection Department is taxed to its capacity, and every effort should be made to give this department your complete cooperation."

The plan then goes into detail on the assign-

This article is excerpted from "Anatomy of a Strike," which appeared in the October, 1962, issue of *Mill & Factory*, an industrial trade journal. Mr. Wecksler is Washington editor of *Mill & Factory*.

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ments of plant protection personnel—the plans for hiring additional guards and the specific placement of these guards—also specific plans to go to overtime if needed.

There is a discussion of equipment:

"In any strike emergency program, equipment plays a major part in the overall operation and success of the project. The equipment available must be utilized and new modern equipment should be considered for purchase, to strengthen the organization."

In addition to regular equipment, all guards were equipped with flashlights and work gloves. The guards carried no arms, either before or during the strike.

Included in the equipment were walkie-talkies for communication between a command post and the guards.

A high-lift truck and operator were used to give viewing access in emergency situations.

In a discussion of "guard duties at the gates," the Yale & Towne plan outlines:

"It is reasonable to assume that the guards will be involved in protecting our plant against acts of violence, directly or indirectly, caused by strikes. In this case, all guard personnel will act in accordance with special instructions issued from and by the Industrial Relations Department, directly to the captain of the guard force.

"All guards on gate duty involved in any of the above emergencies must be alert to the following incidents, and report them immediately to his superior or the Safety Department:

"1. Blocking of driveways by pickets
"2. Blocking of driveways by vehicles
"3. Large gatherings of people at any one point
"4. Comments made to guards by all persons
"5. Unusual conditions on parking lot
"6. Unusual disturbance anywhere
"7. Presence of police cars

"A fence patrol should be activated with a piece of mobile equipment inside the fence area.

"A suitable command post will be set up to govern all activities of guard reporting and guard placement.

"Note: Remember to report anything and let us be the judge as to the value of the information."

The plan manual goes into a discussion of transportation:

"Under such emergencies as described in this manual, transportation for security personnel will play an important part. Our buildings and grounds are large, and in an emergency mobile equipment must be available to transport the necessary personnel safely and quickly to the spot."

This phase of the manual goes into a description of each piece of transportation equipment—its speed, carrying capacity and the fire-fighting, first-aid and other equipment it carries—also the use to which the transportation can be put.

These were the bare bones of the plan. Yale & Towne was completely guided by competent legal advice in all its policies and actions.

There was special emphasis on documentation. The company—through a contract with a commercial photographer—took 2,000 still photographs during the strike and 6,000 feet of motion picture film. (During a strike situation involving a major employer 80,000 feet of motion picture film was taken.) Each photograph was accurately identified as to date and time of day, and all motion picture footage started off with a shot of a printed sign giving the day and time—so that this became an integral part of the record.

All motion pictures were taken, processed and back the same day. Each day's filming was reviewed to see if it contained evidence that would warrant seeking court action.

As a part of the documentation plan, there was a daily report on picket line activities. Each incident was reported in detail—giving the date and time of day, location, the largest number of pickets in the line, names of the picket captains, weather at the time and union officials present. The last information was particularly significant, as it would show that any violence that occurred was certainly with the knowledge of the union officials and condoned by them.

In the event that anything unusual happened, the personnel involved were called on for depositions, with all details. This included depositions from salesmen from the outside who might be molested or interfered with in their efforts to enter the plant.

Yale & Towne management points out that documentation was of major importance in the court and arbitration proceedings. Of greatest weight was direct testimony by eyewitnesses.

In planning the operations of the plant—to assure the supply of water, heat, power—the management assigned qualified salaried personnel who had regular city operators' licenses to the maintenance and operation of utilities. A plant fire brigade was organized, made up of management.

A significant factor was a close working arrangement with railroad personnel. The railroad was the only method by which the company could get regular deliveries of supplies and materials into the plant and product shipments out. Under Pennsylvania law it is illegal to interfere with railroad freight, and this lifeline remained open.

Also the company contracted for the use of a helicopter for emergency transport. The heli-

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copter used several alternate takeoff and landing points so that the strikers could not organize a picket line at the whirlybird's landing point.

Food was a problem. Prior to the strike, the plant stocked an emergency supply of $2,500 worth of food staples—canned and frozen—and during the strike food was literally smuggled into the plant. As one of the plant management spokesmen put it:

"We used to get a Thunderbird full of pies. And cars came into the plant, with springs to the ground, loaded with beef and milk."

When outside kitchen personnel refused to cross the picket line to serve for a plant Christmas party, the top management rolled up their sleeves and dished out the party food—which had been smuggled into the plant.

Perhaps the most impressive job done by the company was in the field of public and community relations.

Employes—salaried workers—and workers on strike were kept informed on the issues and developments in the strike. The salaried workers were constantly briefed, as often as several times in a week, and when the occasion arose in an emergency the briefing was a quick on-the-spot effort.

Workers on strike were kept informed of company policy by mail—all such communications having been reviewed by company counsel.

In addition, the company maintained communications with opinion-making leaders of the community. An up-to-date list was used, including:

1. Heads of the 50 largest employing companies of the area
2. Membership of the Chamber of Commerce of Northeast Philadelphia
3. Newspapers, radio and TV—which received copies of all communications
4. All ministers of the area
5. Educators
6. Members of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation
7. Politicians—including the mayor and members of the city council, committeemen from all wards, members of Congress.

In developing public information policy, all news was channeled through the plant director of public relations. It was management policy never to answer a query with "no comment." At the very least, management was willing to talk to media representatives. When possible, the members of management would be made available to answer questions personally.

The management, however, refused to debate the issues with union spokesmen. The position taken was that labor-management relations should not be decided on the basis of a public popularity poll.

The whole public information effort was to establish a positive position for the company.

The minutiae of the strike included such details as the development of a big magnetic broom to pick up nails thrown by strikers in the main driveway of the plant during the night hours. The broom picked up over a thousand nails in one day. These were brought into court as evidence, and the judge allowed this testimony.

The company promptly paid all bills arising out of the strike conditions. They had a roving tire truck which fixed all flats in the area—some possibly having no connection with the strike.

All damages to cars, scratches, *etc.*, not covered by insurance were promptly paid for by the company. Hospital expenses incurred by salaried employes were promptly taken care of.

During winter, female salaried workers were let off early so that they would not be fearful of getting through the picket lines in the darkening night.

Police protection was spotty and hesitant. It took a court order to get the city police to enforce the law, and then they maintained a neutral position.

The walkie-talkies were highly effective in maintaining communications during the periods of strife. At one point, the union was able to tune in on the walkie-talkie frequency, after which the management developed a code. "Hawk" was the control post, and each station had a code designation—bluebird, eagle, *etc.* Code words, such as "baseball," were used to describe the massing of 50 or more pickets; "strike-out" for less than 50. The union never broke the code.

There were periods of considerable violence during the long strike, but mostly it was a day-to-day war of nerves. Salaried employes were held up hours long to gain entrance to the plant. There was constant harassment.

When the management announced that it would recruit workers to replace the strikers, organized labor threatened a city-wide strike with a huge 200,000-worker demonstration.

Obviously, it was a tough battle, and the court records and testimony fill many thousands of pages. But in a strike, as in war, once the decision is taken to meet a challenge, there is no time nor place for half measures. It is all out and to the finish.

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Unions Going International

By VICTOR RIESEL

Global unions, spanning continents, striking in unison in the U.S., Europe, Asia and Africa, are about to be born. And the embattled Walter Reuther is the attending physician.

That's why he planned his trip to Japan. That's why his brother Victor, head of the auto union's International Department, has spent months in Europe. That's why colleagues of Reuther in the old CIO unions have flown into Asia during the past few years. That's why they've invited foreign union chiefs, especially the Japanese, to visit their American union headquarters.

That's why the Reuthers and their colleagues have been teaching European, especially Italian, labor leaders American strike techniques. That's why the Japanese, for example, have been studying so feverishly and fervently the 1959 U.S. 116-day steel strike.

There will be no lack of financing for this liaison work. Reuther has his union's authority to spend over $1.4 million a year to aid labor movements of the world—especially in the new nations of Africa and the ancient lands of Asia.

This money is the interest earned by the auto union's $40-million strike fund. With it Reuther plans to contribute to social welfare centers, training schools, labor colleges, and to the activities of such labor groups as the Kenya Federation of Labour.

Bedrock of most of these global unions is an international organization virtually unknown in the U.S.—but which Walter and Victor have helped build over the past decade. We call it the "IMF"—the International Metalworkers Federation. Headquarters—Geneva.

In it are unions which encompass all metal workers, fabricators, etc., unlike the setup in the U.S., which has separate steel and auto unions. In Germany, for example, the world's largest union—almost two million strong—includes the steel and auto workers.

It is led by Reuther's good friend, the militant Otto Brenner. I have no doubt that some day the United Auto Workers here and the auto division of Brenner's union there will pull simultaneous strikes on car plants owned by the same American corporation.

The basic mechanism to pull such an international stoppage already exists in an IMF division called the "Automotive Department." Its president is Walter Reuther. When it calls an international convention of its unions, now in 15 countries, Victor Reuther chairs the sessions in Walter's absence.

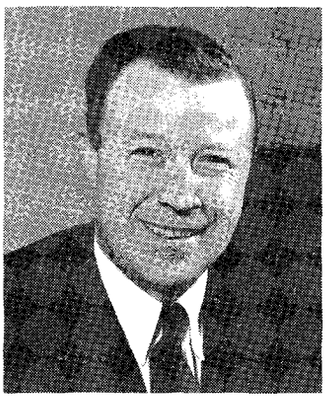
The Detroit headquarters of the United Auto Workers has organized a global "International Council of Ford Workers," for world bargaining.

There are other sections to the IMF. And they are mighty militant. Recently they have pulled hard, fast strikes across Italy and even in Brazil. There are reports that Reuther will visit these European units on his way home.

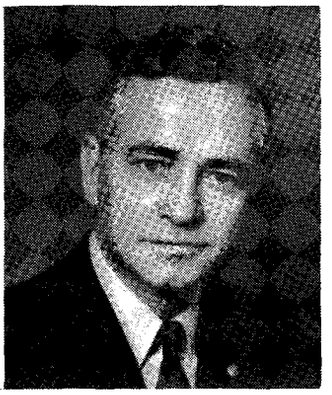
Reuther has been preceded in Japan by his intimate friend and colleague, James Carey, head of the International Union of Electrical Workers.

Carey and Yukichi Takehana, president of the Denki Roren (Federation of Electrical Workers of Japan), made a pact which, in effect, calls for joint strikes against corporations operating in both the U.S. and Japan. There are several such corporations. The strategy is to tie them up at both ends.

Carey now is reported eager to extend this global action technique to Europe, where U.S. electrical and electronic companies have scores of big plants.



WALTER REUTHER, United Auto Workers president, is hard at work fashioning international unionism. Future strikes could be worldwide.



JAMES CAREY, head of the International Union of Electrical Workers, wants to extend this global action technique to US electrical and electronic plants abroad.

And virtually unpublicized have been the international activities of the United Steelworkers (USW) leaders. In Japan recently, I had a long session with one of the world's most militant union chiefs, Akira Iwai, head of the four-million-member Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan). The American union which fascinated him most and from which he said he could learn much in strike technique was the USW. Over and over he asked for details on the 116-day USW strike.

During that national stoppage, Sohyo had sent the Pittsburgh union $2,500. It was a loan. But Sohyo would have lost face if it had accepted repayment. Reciprocating the gesture, the Steelworkers, some of whose officials have been in Japan, invited Sohyo steel union leaders to the U.S. There has been discussion of international joint action in this field. So has there been similar talk across the other continents.

From these talks, conferences and loose international federations, some day will come global unionism instead of national unionism as we know it today.

(Distributed 1962 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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Section Four
December 1, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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Foreign Aid Cut

Passman's Most Dramatic Victory

Excerpted from *Roll Call*, the newspaper of Capitol Hill
October 10, 1962.

The grey-haired, wiry man sat straight in his wheelchair, flanked by a physician and an aide, speaking forcefully into a microphone before him. Around him, arrayed like students in a school amphitheatre, sat the assembled members of the US House of Representatives, listening intently as they might to a stern schoolmaster.

Though it may have resembled a classroom, the scene differed in other respects. There was a premium on front-row seats as appreciative congressmen crowded into the available space. And the speaker's discourse was interrupted with some frequency by cheers, applause and shouts of approval.

Representative Otto Ernest Passman, 62, strong-willed chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, was holding the floor. The subject was his specialty—the annual foreign aid appropriations bill—and he meant to have his say. That explained the drama.

PASSMAN

"It would appear to me," Passman rumbled, "speaking for myself, that today our foreign policy, to a very large extent, is based upon aid, on the dissipation of our wealth and, of course, a high degree of appeasement."

Passman went on to tell how his subcommittee had helped convert the $4.9-billion foreign aid request of President Kennedy to the House-passed $3.63 billion. The Senate, he continued in a rising voice, had funneled in $4.423 billion but he had held the compromise bill to only $3.929 billion.

Speaking extemporaneously with the fervor of a religious crusader, Passman rapidly and bluntly told his colleagues that the final bill, with its drastic cuts, should be accepted.

"Summing up the net results, it amounts to a reduction of $585 million below comparable figures for last year," he declared proudly.

With that assurance, Passman's admiring colleagues voted 171-108 to support him on a Saturday morning when 157 members were not even present.

Passman's smashing victory, coming against the wishes of the President, the State Department, large liberal blocs in the House and Senate and a sizable chunk of the Nation's press, added another boost to the Louisiana Congressman's reputation as the undisputed and well-nigh invulnerable boss of foreign aid in Congress. For it is the wily Passman, not the mighty bulk of the Federal foreign affairs establishment, which now in large measure calls the tune in our relationship with nations overseas.

State Department and Agency for International Development witnesses, who must submit to his scrutiny each year, respect and in some cases fear his thorough knowledge of the foreign spending field. They know it is his glance they must please if money for their projects is to be forthcoming.

Passman is not all-powerful in Congress. He must make some compromises; if he had his way the whole foreign aid program would be abolished. But his concessions are hard-fought.

"I'm positively opposed to foreign aid as such," he says, "not that I'm not sympathetic for underprivileged people in our country or elsewhere.

"But in our country's first 168 years of our freedom we became wealthy and respected because we were known the world over as laborers, willing to work hard and long hours.

"We had a very firm and very fair foreign policy based on trade with our neighbors around the world," he says. "During the past 15 years we have substituted our wealth for trade, and disgraceful appeasement for a firm foreign policy."

Passman says that, "From time immemorial you've had poor people and poor nations, and rich nations got along with them. It was never intended that all people should have the same thing."

If we give poor peoples our wealth, Passman believes, "It only makes them envious and dissipated."

All in all, when Passman speaks his colleagues listen. They know he has the evidence to support his contentions, and their votes are usually cast accordingly.

This year, on the evening before he was to present his case, Passman was working alone in his office. When the telephone rang he leaped around a desk to answer it, slipped and fractured his left shoulder joint in four places.

Passman was rushed to Bethesda Naval Hospital, and word spread that he would not be able to manage the foreign aid bill the next morning.

The next day, however, Passman ordered himself out of the hospital, the fracture still unset, and was taken to Capitol Hill.

The session opened as Passman sat painfully in his wheelchair facing his colleagues, his injured arm in a sling tucked under his coat. "I consider this one of the greatest exhibitions of courage I have ever seen," said Speaker John McCormack. "It goes above and beyond the call of duty. It presents to the country a powerful message on the dedication to service of all members of Congress."

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NLRB Dictation

From the Arizona *Republic*

The National Labor Relations Board's recent decision in the case of a South Carolina textile mill is proof that American business is to a large extent at the mercy of Washington bureaucrats.

In a 3-2 decision, the board ordered Deering-Milliken to rehire and make good the pay losses of more than 500 workers idled when the company shut down one of its mills six years ago. NLRB members agreed unanimously that the company shut down the plant to retaliate against its employes for voting in favor of a union—a charge the company denies. But whereas one member claimed the board could not inflict any punishment, because any firm may legally quit business any time it wants, the majority held the shutdown violates the labor law ban against discharging workers for engaging in their protected activities of organizing and operating labor unions.

The issue here is not so much the approximate $7 million the company will be required to pay (if the NLRB decision is upheld in the courts) for work not received, although that in itself could destroy the company. The issue is whether a business, organized by people who voluntarily elect to invest their savings in an enterprise, should be at the mercy of a five-man Washington tribunal—one which too often through the years has shown itself to be a partisan spokesman for organized labor.

We have no way of knowing whether the company did indeed shut down to avoid dealing with a labor union. But we do know that even if it did not, the mere fact that the NLRB thought it did, or pretended that it thought it did, would be sufficient reason for it to vote to inflict punitive damages against any company that ever decided to go out of business, or change its location.

Those who still wonder why the business community fears and suspects the Federal government need only look at this latest NLRB decision for enlightenment.

Letting Our Guard Down in Space

From the San Diego *Union*

The danger of the Administration's keep-the-military-out-of-space policy is very real: If we delay our satellite weapons policy the Russians will grab this lead just as they have the lead in booster rocket power.

The Administration has taken the position that if the United States does not develop space weapons the Russians might not either. This is the most dangerous, head-in-sand attitude possible. If it had been followed, the Russians would have had the atomic bomb before the United States, a fatal blow to the Free World as we know it.

General William F. McKee, Air Force vice chief of staff, says "we are engaged in a technological conflict which will affect our national future as surely as past supremacy in the air has kept us at peace."

He says, "the superiority of our aerospace power advantage in global nuclear delivery capability has deterred aggressors from the risk of general war for 17 years."

It can be thrown away in four short years of one administration.

Quiz On Cuba

Senator Barry Goldwater, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, and Representative Bob Wilson, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, have eight questions for the JFK Administration regarding Cuba.

The questions, contained in a joint statement issued by the two GOP leaders, asked the President to say whether:

1. The Administration's no-invasion assurance constitutes an abandonment of Cuba to the Communists.

2. The agreement supersedes the decision by the Organization of American States to use all steps necessary, including force, to repel subversion.

3. The no-invasion assurance means "we have junked the Monroe Doctrine."

4. The Castro refugees who want to liberate Cuba are to be abandoned.

5. An invasion that could have eliminated communism completely in Cuba was canceled.

6. The 5,000 to 8,000 Soviet technicians and other Russian personnel will remain in Cuba and "continue to direct that nation's affairs."

7. The so-called "fishing port" that could harbor Soviet missile-carrying submarines will be completed in Cuba.

8. Other weapons such as MIG fighter-bombers will be removed and their bases eliminated.

Herd 'Individualism'

From the Omaha *World-Herald*

The director of women's activities for the AFL-CIO, Mrs. Margaret Thornburg of Washington, had some unusual things to say about the rugged individualist when she spoke to the Nebraska AFL-CIO convention at Scottsbluff.

She criticized the union member who votes against candidates who are supported by labor organizations. She said:

> There are still rugged individualists who want to determine the course of the entire labor movement in these matters . . .
>
> It is time for union members to grow up and realize that the majority rules. We have the right to disagree but not the right to disobey the mandate of union people.

What Mrs. Thornburg seems to be saying is that once a union goes on record as favoring a candidate, all members are duty bound to rubber stamp the choice.

We wonder if Mrs. Thornburg realized she was making her uncomplimentary remarks about the rugged individualist near the site of Scottsbluff, which once served as a landmark for the Oregon Trail pioneer —a true rugged individualist.

Most Nebraskans, we feel, would rather honor and try to emulate the pioneer individualist than the new breed of rubber-stamp man whom the Washington lady upheld.

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During April, 1961, I sent in a total of 29 gift subscriptions. A study of this list after approximately a year has shown the following: Fifteen persons on that list are subscribing annually to *Human Events*. Four fairly regularly read copies of others who did subscribe. Of the remaining ten, three made a point of thanking me for their gift subscriptions. Two others commented that it was "interesting", but that their budget was too tight. I do not know the status of the other five. For all I know, they COULD BE subscribers.

One of my original subscribers took some copies to a professional meeting and showed them around. He then proceeded to "sell" 17 trial subscriptions for five weeks. Of this group, eight became permanent subscribers. Two of these eight circularized their friends with gift subscriptions and they tell me they got 11 others! Any results of the 11 "fourth-generation" subscribers are to date unreported to me.

Another of my original subscribers persuaded his partner to *invest* in some of the "Newburgh Story" reprints (July 14, 1961) which were sent to selected customers along with regular business correspondence. This led to eight new subscribers.

Another of my original subscribers took a fistful of reprints to a regional meeting of the American Legion and attempted to introduce a resolution to have the Legion buy subscriptions as gifts to col-

(continued on other side)

P. Arthur Bonney

Middletown, New York

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lege libraries. He was ruled out of order. During a recess, many of his fellow Legionnaires approached him to ask more about *Human Events*. His answers produced a "hatful of bucks"—with addresses for five-week trial subscriptions. He reported to me that six of those have since told him that they are subscribing regularly.

One of my friends—who did not subscribe—was so disturbed after reading the facts about the weird money ideas of the New Frontiersmen that his work was suffering due to his lack of sleep. He began to give the envelopes from *Human Events* unopened to a friend in his car pool. Recently he noticed this friend and another from the same department in the firm reading *Human Events* during their lunch hour.

I have no way of tracing past a certain point how many of the newer subscribers in the "third or fourth generation" may have done recruiting and I have no way of knowing how many subscribers have come from those odd copies left in offices. It really could be a hundred!

The increase in the number of subscribers is gratifying but nowhere nearly as much as the fact that many of these new subscribers are now engaging in active politics! Several who had never done anything at all in politics became election-day doorbell ringers, have been writing letters to newspapers or doing something else constructive.

Naturally, as you know, I keep sending in more gift subscriptions from time to time. After all, this missionary work is the least I can do to make up for the damage done to the Nation and world by my late Hyde Park neighbor.

Fill out the coupons in the next column with the names of the people who may continue the chain reaction. Begin NOW to take advantage of this opportunity and the special Christmas gift rates for *Human Events*.

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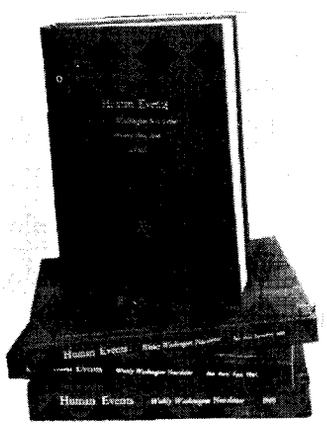

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Section Six
December 1, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

District of Columbia Crime

Only a Citizen's Perseverance Leads to Conviction

By TOM KELLY

Reprinted with Permission from Washington *Daily News*

This is the story of how the office of the United States attorney in Washington, D. C., tried very hard to keep a criminal case from coming to court.

And of how it might have succeeded were it not for the stubborn insistence of a citizen named Tom Kelly and the energetic interest of a municipal judge, Thomas C. Scalley, both of whom seem to think it is the business of the US attorney's office to prosecute—not to sit listlessly on its hands.

The case involves Tom Kelly intimately. He was the complaining witness.

Mr. Kelly happens to be a reporter for this newspaper, but what happened to him could have happened to almost any adult male in the District of Columbia.

Here is Mr. Kelly's story:

LAST JUNE 30, I was sitting on a step in front of my house near the Capitol cleaning and painting a bike. It was a warm, bright Saturday evening. My two older children were playing a few feet away. My wife and our youngest daughter, who is 2, had gone to the grocery store some time earlier.

The time was 7 P. M.

As I was working, I looked up and saw my wife at the corner, some 40 feet away. Two men, one in his 30's, one in his teens, were standing beside her. The men appeared to be talking to her and she to them. She looked angry and outraged.

I put down the rag or brush or whatever I was working with and walked over.

My wife told me one of the men had made an obscene and insulting remark to her—which she repeated to me. She said she had told them I was her husband and suggested that they tell me what they'd said.

I turned to the younger man and asked: "What did you say to my wife?"

The younger man stammered a few words, not very clearly.

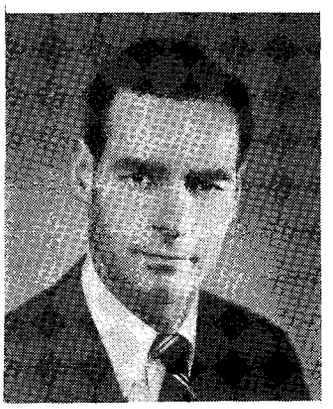
The older man, who, I learned later, was an ex-convict named Andrew Redwood, shouted at me and hit me on the jaw with his right hand. I did not see the blow coming since I was facing the younger man.

I was still on my feet and I turned toward Redwood. He drew a knife from his pocket, held it out, opened the blade and dared me to "come on."

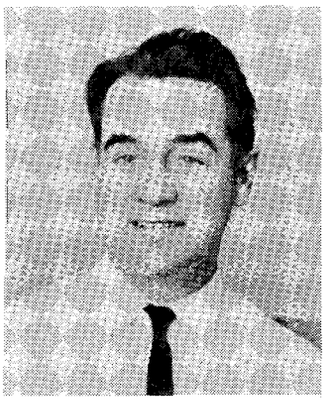
I stayed where I was and tried to decide on a cool, logical course of action.

I told my wife to call the police and then I ran into the house and got an empty shotgun. The gun had been empty for years. Because of the children, I've never kept any shells in the house.

WHEN I CAME OUT I saw that Redwood and his companion were walking rapidly away. I told my wife that I would follow them and that she was to send the police after us as soon as they came. I was angry but under control.



ACHESON



KELLY

I trailed them for a block, keeping them in sight but not getting any closer, before they noticed me. Then they broke into a run. I ran too. I lost sight of the younger man but I followed Redwood to Massachusetts Avenue where he jumped in a cab.

At that moment two policemen drew up beside me in a scout car. I got in and told them what had happened. So we started after the cab and the cab stopped and Redwood jumped out and ran.

The policemen sounded their siren and drove up beside him.

As they approached, he tried to get rid of his knife, placing it on the ledge of a mail box. The police got out and took him into custody. They took the knife, too.

At the 9th Precinct, Redwood denied having a knife. He also denied knowing the younger man who'd accompanied him. He admitted having done time for armed robbery.

Precinct Detective Frank Ford, a courteous and intelligent man, questioned both of us impartially and told us to appear at Municipal Court Monday for a hearing at the US attorney's office.

THE HEARING was held before an assistant US attorney, a very young man. He said that he sympathized with me, but that there was "no case" against Redwood and that I had better drop the whole thing. Redwood was there, along with his companion of Saturday night.

As a newspaper reporter for 15 years, I have covered hundreds of court trials. I like to think I know a solid case when I see one.

I pointed out that there were plenty of witnesses and that there could be no question that Redwood had slugged me and threatened me with a knife.

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The young US attorney replied that he could charge me, too, since I had carried the empty shotgun while trailing Redwood.

I told him to charge me if he wished, but to charge Redwood, too.

He said, "You know he helps the police." My wife said, "You mean he's an informer?" I said I didn't care what he was. I wanted to swear out a warrant against him.

The young prosecutor said I'd better talk to Assistant US Attorney William Greenhalgh, the man in charge that day and the second-ranking man in the office.

So everybody involved went in to see Mr. Greenhalgh.

I told Mr. Greenhalgh what had happened and I told him there were plenty of witnesses.

Whereupon Mr. Greenhalgh sent Redwood and his companion out of the room. Then he turned to me.

"There is no case," he said.

I told him there certainly was a case.

Mr. Greenhalgh said a jury whose members included Negroes would never convict Redwood since he was a Negro—and particularly since he was an ex-convict who might have to go back to the penitentiary.

I told him I had a lot more faith in the integrity of Negroes on juries than that. I asked him if he honestly meant that the processes of law had so broken down that a convict out on "good time" from the penitentiary could pull a knife on a citizen, without provocation, and get away with it.

I mentioned that, as a newspaper reporter, I was somewhat familiar with the courts. By saying this, of course, I let Mr. Greenhalgh know that I was a newspaperman. I don't know whether he knew this before.

Mr. Greenhalgh then allowed that, if I insisted, he would permit me to swear out a warrant. But he certainly wasn't saying that Redwood could ever be convicted. I said I expected no guarantee from him, I merely wanted to see the case come to trial.

So trial was set for August 21.

A MONTH BEFORE the trial date I found that I would have to be out of town that day and I called the US attorney's office to ask if they could have the case continued.

The young man who answered told me I was certainly putting the office to a lot of trouble but he'd see about it.

I heard no more from him.

When the trial date arrived, I was laid up in the hospital.

On September 1, I called the US attorney's office again and asked if the case had been continued.

The young man who answered said it had. It was now set for September 17. I told him that I had not yet received any notice.

On September 14 I called again. I said I still had not received any notice and neither had any of the witnesses to the incident on the sidewalk.

The young man said the folder on the case did not list any witnesses who should be notified.

I asked him if I should bring witnesses with me on September 17.

He said not to bother. Just come myself. He said if witnesses were needed, they could always get them at the last minute.

That was last Friday.

ON MONDAY, September 17, I was in court, alone, at 10 A. M.

I was called as the only listed witness. I stood up.

Assistant US Attorney Henry Jones, who was to prosecute the case, said we would all go downstairs for a hearing. We went downstairs.

Prosecutor Jones, obviously, had just been assigned the case.

At the hearing, the attorney for Redwood asked for another continuance. The assistant US attorney who held this hearing said no. He said the prosecution was ready to go to trial.

Then the defense attorney said he wanted me charged, too, for carrying the empty shotgun. The hearing examiner said no. He would not charge me. And he didn't.

After some haggling, all hands agreed to ask the judge for a continuance to October 2.

At 1:30 P. M. we were back in court. Judge Thomas C. Scalley was presiding.

The Redwood case was called.

Prosecutor Jones asked for the continuance.

Judge Scalley said no. He said the US attorney's office should be prepared and the case was going to trial.

Mr. Jones, obviously upset, asked how he could be expected to prosecute a case he knew nothing about. The trial began nevertheless.

A JURY of 12 persons, six Negroes and six whites, was chosen.

I was called as the first witness.

I recounted what had happened that evening in June.

When I started to repeat what my wife had told me, the defense attorney objected on the grounds of hearsay. I turned to Judge Scalley and told him that, for reasons known only to itself, the US attorney's office had failed to call my wife as a witness although she would be glad to testify.

After I was examined and cross-examined, Judge Scalley called the attorneys to the bench and roasted the US attorney's office for not preparing the case properly. (Mr. Jones, let it be clear, had nothing to do with the handling of the case until that very day, though his colleagues in the US attorney's office certainly had.)

Judge Scalley then postponed the trial until the next day to allow the calling of needed witnesses.

I told Mr. Jones I would get them. I got my wife. A neighboring family, which included several witnesses, had moved away and I didn't know where to find them now.

The next morning my wife and the arresting officers testified. Andrew Redwood and his companion—a 16-year-old boy—testified for the defense.

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Prosecutor Jones made an intelligent and effective closing speech to the jury.

The jury left and returned within an hour.

Negroes and whites together, they found that Andrew Redwood was guilty as charged of both simple assault and carrying a dangerous weapon.

He will be sentenced soon.

This was the case that the US attorney's office tried so hard to do nothing about.

If I hadn't gotten angry enough to force the issue, the case obviously would never have come to trial.

How many cases like this are quickly and quietly dropped before they begin?

What's wrong with the US attorney's office?

Is it lazy, incompetent or what?

Following the publication of Tom Kelly's story by the Washington *Daily News,* David C. Acheson, United States attorney for the District of Columbia, issued a statement in defense of his office's action in the Kelly case. The statement was printed in the Washington *Daily News,* along with Kelly's rebuttal to Acheson. (Acheson, son of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, is a Kennedy appointee.) Both statements are printed below:

Acheson's Reply

By DAVID C. ACHESON

The United States attorney's office for the District of Columbia through the years has evolved, with the approval and under the supervision of the Municipal Court, a system for handling complaints by citizens which we believe to be efficient and fair.

Where arrests are not made by officers on the spot, citizens and officers come to the office and register their complaints. Where probable crimes are discovered, hearings are set to discover all the facts and when these hearings bring out evidence of a crime, prosecutive action is taken.

The Municipal Court Division at our office, where Mr. Kelly's complaint was lodged, hears 50,000 complaints a year, takes further prosecutive action in approximately 22,000 cases and sends to court approximately 10,000 of those cases.

I have carefully read Mr. Kelly's account and carefully reviewed the matter in detail with the attorneys on our staff who handled the case at each step from the initial complaint to the termination of the trial. Our assistants in this case made the kind of judgment that they have to make hundreds of times daily, and the exercise of their judgment and discretion is indispensable to an orderly, efficient and fair disposition of the high volumes of complaints in Municipal Court.

The initial hearing that we held in this case *covered all the witnesses involved.* On their statements there was a *substantial conflict of evidence.* On the basis of this evidence a judgment had to be made as to the prosecutive, triable merit of the case, and our assistant who first heard the case decided that while a *close one, the case did not warrant further prosecution.* Nevertheless, Mr. Kelly obtained *immediate action* on his complaint and the defendant was then and there charged.

By Mr. Kelly's own account of *the trial, continuances in this case were in large measure for his convenience* and at his request. *As he listed no witnesses on the form* provided for that purpose, none could be notified.

The painstaking process and careful scrutiny of the facts which Mr. Kelly points out are the necessary and desirable safeguards of our system and not due to any reluctance to prosecute where prosecution is warranted.

While the particular facts of this case were understandably distressing to Mr. Kelly, the assistant United States attorneys involved had a duty to be fair to both sides of the case before initiating prosecution. In such situations, similar to hundreds that come to Municipal Court daily, not every complainant can go away entirely satisfied.

In my opinion the Federal government and the citizens of the District of Columbia can be proud of the office which is the subject of Mr. Kelly's article. The assistants in my office are here because they are unusually able; they perform an outstanding job under great pressure and work long and irregular hours. They serve the public well and have my confidence and support.

Kelly's Rebuttal

By TOM KELLY

The first hearing in the case did not cover "all the witnesses involved." Then, and later, I attempted to give a list of possible witnesses to the US attorney's office. The offer was declined each time. The initial hearing lasted some five minutes.

The young US attorney conducting it showed no remote interest in anything but getting me to drop the case. He threatened to charge me if I persisted.

The "substantial conflict of evidence" was the inevitable conflict between my statement supported by my wife's and the statement of the man I was hoping to have prosecuted. By that time this man, an ex-convict, had already been caught by police in two demonstrable lies.

Mr. Acheson seems to be saying that no case should be brought to court unless the defendant confesses and pleads guilty.

The case was not a "close one" which "did not warrant further prosecution." William Greenhalgh, the man in charge of the office then, did not, when challenged, claim that the case was objectively weak. He said instead that a jury with Negroes on it would not convict the defendant, a Negro.

It is a matter of record that a jury with six Negroes did convict the defendant, on both charges, in short order. Mr. Greenhalgh's apparent belief that a Negro juror will automatically violate his trust is an unsupportable insult to Negroes.

I obtained "immediate action" only after I raised as much cain as I probably could and reminded Mr. Greenhalgh that I was a newspaper reporter.

I asked for one continuance. It was granted while I was a patient in Doctors Hospital. I was never notified of the new trial date. I found it out only by calling the US attorney's office and asking for it.

To say I "listed no witnesses on the form provided" is a mockery. As I said above I made repeated attempts to get the US attorney's office to take a list of

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possible witnesses, right up until the weekend before the trial.

At the last minute I specifically asked an assistant US attorney if I should, on my own, notify what witnesses I could find and bring them in myself. He told me not to.

To say that this entire proceeding was a "painstaking process" and one involving "careful scrutiny" is to play the fool with words. The case was brought to trial only because the judge ordered it and the assistant US attorney who prosecuted it protested then that he was totally unprepared.

Capitol Hill Critics Speak

From the September 25 Washington *Daily News*

United States Attorney David Acheson was sharply criticized on Capitol Hill yesterday for defending the way an assistant had handled a Capitol Hill case of threatened assault with a knife.

Complaining witness was reporter Tom Kelly, who in last Thursday's Washington *Daily News* said the US attorney's office at Municipal Court tried to avoid prosecuting the case.

Mr. Acheson's reply was carried in yesterday's editions followed by Mr. Kelly's comments on the DA's statement.

Representative Basil L. Whitener (D.-N.C.), member of the House District Committee, put the entire article into the *Congressional Record,* telling the House that "something needs to be done here in the District to see that victims as well as criminals be given their day in court."

"This case is an unfortunate one," he said. "But I suppose it is fortunate that the victim in the case was one who was in a position to bring about conviction of an ex-convict who otherwise may have gone free."

Representative Whitener said he was "amazed" at Mr. Acheson's statement that the "district attorney had the duty to be fair to both sides."

"As one who was a prosecutor for 11 years," he said, "I have always felt the function of a prosecuting attorney was to determine if there was probable cause and a case for prosecution.

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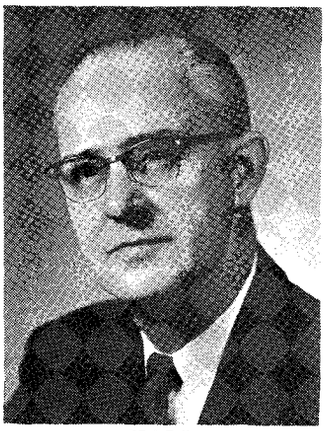

HALL

"It is shameful to suggest (as the assistant prosecutor did in the case in question) that conviction could not be obtained because of the race of the wrongdoer."

Representative Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.) indorsed Representative Whitener's remarks and cited recent yoking cases on Capitol Hill.

" . . . I live on Capitol Hill . . . when Congress is in session. . . . It has become a fearsome thing to walk the block and a half from the Coronet Apartments where three of these incidents have occurred on that intersection to the Capitol after dark alone."

Asks Concern for Victims

By Representative Frank T. Bow (R.-Ohio)

A young man brutally attacked and very nearly murdered an employe of the House in a nearby church.

The Washington *Post* carries the warning of a high official of this government that this is only a minor incident compared to what will happen if an increasing number of youngsters turn to crime because they lack adequate educational, recreational, housing or job opportunities.

BOW

It seems to me that the time is passed when we can continue to explain away a brutal crime because the criminal lacked any of the opportunities mentioned in the *Post.* This is no excuse for criminality. It is no reason for criminality. There are men in this Congress and men and women by the score in our employ who lacked advantages in their youth but who made up for it and overcame the disadvantages because they were energetic, honest, law-abiding and ambitious people.

To say that the Nation must expect an increase in crime if it fails to offer certain opportunities to young people is to invite these young people to enter upon a life of crime. We are giving them their alibi, their justification, their excuse and their rationalization, and when they are apprehended they will find plenty of the people whom Mr. Hoover calls muddleheaded sentimentalists ready and eager to excuse their sins.

Instead of concern and sympathy for the coldblooded criminal who attacks a woman at prayer, it seems to me we Americans should show some concern and sympathy for the victim of the crime and the many others who will become victims if we continue to explain away and excuse the offenders.

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